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## The Typological Characteristics of Maithili

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### Abstract

Typological studies have always been fascinating the linguists as it paves the way not only for the proper classification of a language but also in defining and re-defining several language universals. Sometimes, this study becomes the main cause of the establishment of a new language universal. Indian languages have always been showing some of the unique features which make these languages distinct from many other languages of the world. The similarities among the Indian languages are found due to long area contact and sharing of features. Maithili is an Indo-Aryan and a scheduled language of India. It is spoken in the north-eastern part of the Bihar state of India and in the *tarai* region of Nepal. It is the 16<sup>th</sup> most spoken language of India and the 40<sup>th</sup> most spoken language of the world. The present paper takes into account some of the major typological features of Maithili languages in order to test its similarities and dissimilarities with other Indian languages. Some of the discussed features in this paper include the basic word order, the position of adjective, auxiliary verb, main verb, adverb, direct and indirect objects, interrogation, negation, anaphora, reduplication and echo-formation, etc. At the same time, this paper also makes a comparative study of Maithili with the other South-Asian languages. Finally, it also discusses some of the unique features of Maithili which requires further investigation.

**Keywords-** Typological Characteristics, Interrogation, Negation, Reduplication, Anaphors

### Introduction

Maithili is one of the scheduled languages of India. It basically covers the north-eastern part of the state of Bihar and the *tarai* region of Nepal. State wise, it is the 16<sup>th</sup> most spoken language of India and the 40<sup>th</sup> most spoken language of the world. Being a member of the Indo-Aryan group, this language appears quite similar to other Indo-Aryan languages like Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi-Urdu, Punjabi, Assamese, Oriya, etc. Yet, there are certain features that make this language quite distinct from the rest. In the present paper, I have discussed some of the major typological characteristics of Maithili.

The important typological features which have been taken into account include the basic word-order, the position of adjective, the position of direct and indirect object respectively, anaphora, tense harmony, conjunctive participle, dative subject construction, relative clause construction, interrogation, negation, reduplication and echo-formation, etc. In addition to these, a large amount of data has been incorporated in order to form a crystal clear concept on each of the discussed topics.

The present research not only investigates several important typological features of Maithili but also suggests clues for the researchers to investigate each and every topic in detail.

### **Methodology**

At the very outset, I must say that I am the native speaker of Maithili. However, the methodology adopted for an authentic collection of the data was to select a group of informants from whom data elicitation could be done without any problem. The eligibility which was confirmed to select the informants was their age group: 45-75 strictly following the NORMs, educational background; at least matriculation with no particular occupation specified. Above all, I prepared a questionnaire that consisted of various types of questions. Phrases and almost all types of sentences such as affirmative, negative, interrogative, imperative, exclamatory in all the three forms namely simple, compound, and complex formed the content of the data. In order to maintain the authenticity of data of the other South Asian languages, I have consulted Prof. K. V. Subbarao's field studies (Subbarao, 2012) for citing examples from the other South-Asian Languages.

#### **A. Word Order**

So far as the word order typology of the South-Asian languages (SALs) are concerned, we find that all SALs except Khasi, which is a verb-medial language (like English), share common structural characteristics at the sentential level and this could only be possible, according to K.V. Subbarao (Syntactic Typology of South Asian Languages, 2012, pp: 18-19), only due to or both of the following reasons:

- (a) Since all SALs except Khasi (Austro-Asiatic) are SOV (Subject-Object-Verb) languages, they share a number of word order universals proposed in Greenberg (1966) for verb-final languages.
- (b) All South-Asian languages have been in intense language contact with each other for a long period of time, thus, giving rise to the creation of a “*linguistic area*” or *sprachbund* which literally means “*language league*” (Hock, 1991: 494).

It is observed that in the unmarked word order in all SALs which are SOV (except Khasi), the complement (direct object, for example) invariably precedes the post-position (head). This is in contrast to English or French or Khasi, where the complement follows the head. Thus, according to Subbarao (2012), there is a mirror image relationship between the complement and the head in verb-final and non-verb-final languages. It is important to note that a majority of languages in the world are of the following three types: verb-final, verb-

medial, and verb-initial. Khasi takes the medial position while Kashmiri, an Indo-Aryan language, where the finite form of the verb occurs at the second position in a sentence as in German and Dutch. This is generally referred to as V2 position. For example,

(1) Kashmiri: *raaman*                      *dits*                      *saamas*                      *kitaab*  
                     Ram-ERG                      give-PST                      Sham-DAT                      book  
                     ‘Ram gave Sham a book.’

(2) Kashmiri: *raaman*                      *chu*                      *saamas*                      *kitaab*  
                     Ram-ERG                      be-PRES                      Sham-DAT                      book  
                     *divan*  
                     give-PROG  
                     ‘Ram is giving a book to Sham.’

There are many Indo-Aryan (IA), Dravidian, and Munda languages where lexical constituents in a sentence can freely be moved. But in case of Tibeto-Burman languages, such movement is permitted only when the noun is followed by post-position.

Maithili observes a free movement of verbs like some other Indo-Aryan languages such as Hind-Urdu. Such movement could be possible only due to bringing a specific constituent (say verb) within the sentence for the sake of emphasis. For example,

(3) *ahaaN*                      *hamar*                      *gaaNm*                      *gel*                      *chalahuN*  
       You (H+)                      my-POSS                      village                      go-PST                      Aux  
       ‘You had been to my village.’

(4) *Hamar*                      *gaaNm*                      *ahaaN*                      *gel*                      *chalahuN*  
       My-POSS                      village                      you (H+)                      go-PST                      Aux  
       ‘You had been to my village.’

(5) *gel*                      *chalahuN*                      *ahaaN*                      *hamar*                      *gaaNm*  
       go-PST                      Aux                      you (H+)                      my-POSS                      village  
       ‘You had been to my village.’

(6) *gel*                      *chalahuN*                      *hamar*                      *gaaNm*                      *ahaaN*  
       Go-PST                      Aux                      my-POSS                      village                      you (H+)  
       ‘You had been to my village.’

Thus, we find that:

- (i) Maithili is a verb-final language and, generally, the verb occurs at the final position in a sentence i.e. after the subject and the object, respectively.
- (ii) In many cases, the aspect marker together with the auxiliary form the verbal part of the sentence and exists at the final position of a sentence.
- (iii) Like Hindi-Urdu and many other Indo-Aryan languages, Maithili also permits the free movement of lexical constituents which is generally done in order to bring a particular constituent into focus for the sake of emphasis within the sentence.

#### A. Position of Auxiliary Verb

The auxiliary verb generally functions as a helping verb and is found in most of the languages of this world. So far as the South-Asian languages of this world are concerned, the auxiliary verb always follows the main verb. This statement finds violation, though to some extent, only in a case where the verbs are allowed to move freely in a sentence just for the sake of emphasis. For example,

- (7) Hindi: *aap ne mujhe dekhaa thaa*  
S you-S-ERG to me see V-ASP Aux

‘You had seen me.’

- (8) Hindi: *kamare meN hai wo par baahar nahiiN*  
room in Aux he but outside not  
*aa rahaa*  
come PROG

‘He is inside the room but he is not coming outside.’

In (16), we can notice that the sentence is as per the statement given above but in case of (17), we find a sort of violation of the same, though to a little extent. It is generally the past tense marker as well as the perfective aspect marker that follow the verb root (as shown above).

There are, however, exceptions to this generalization. In case of Kashmiri, the finite form of the verb occurs at the second position in a sentence and thus it may precede the main verb. For example,

- (9) *raaman dits saamas kitaab*  
Ram-ERG give-PST Sham-DAT book

‘Ram gave Sham a book.’

- (10) *raaman chu saamas kitaab divan*  
Ram be-PRES Sham -DAT book give-PROG

‘Ram is giving book to Sham.’

In (9), the finite form of the verb *dits* ‘gave’ carries the finite past tense marker and in (10), *chu* ‘be-PRES’ carries the finite present tense marker. The above examples, (9) and (10) are ungrammatical if the finite form of the verb occurs at the final position in the sentence i.e. right to the object.

So far as Maithili is concerned, there are many forms of the verbs in Maithili that function similar to auxiliary ‘be’ of English. According to Dr. Ramawatar Yadav (A Reference Grammar of Maithili, 1997, pp: 158-59), these auxiliary forms act as both, as the helping verbs as well as the main verbs.

When we talk of auxiliary functioning as a helping verb, we find that the auxiliary is an optional element in the verbal system of Maithili. It requires an aspect marker to be expressed with the verb root. Thus, it would be preferable to say that the auxiliary also governs the form of the main verb. Now, since the auxiliary occurs after the aspect marker,

other features like tense, mood, agreement, and honorificity markers often appear to express themselves with the auxiliary itself.

### B. Position of the Main Verb

As we know, verb plays a central role in the formation of a sentence. The position of verb can either be initial, medial, or final in a sentence. So far as the South-Asian Languages are concerned, most of these languages are verb final languages i.e. verb always follows the object (except the languages like Khasi and Kashmiri, as discussed above). In case of Maithili, generally, the main verb always precedes the auxiliary verb. For example,

- (11) *mohan lataam khaa rahal chathi*  
 Mohan guava eat-MV PROG Aux  
 'Mohan is eating a mango.'

- (12) *sonu kitaab parhait chathi*  
 Sonu book read-MV-Pres Aux  
 'Sonu reads a book.'

In above examples, we can see that the main verb (MV) *khaa* and *parhait* precede the auxiliary verb *chathi*.

### C. Position of Indirect Object (IO) and Direct Object (DO)

There are two types of objects functional in almost all the languages of the world. The IO is basically the recipient of the DO. The IO generally precedes the DO but in some cases may follow DO. A DO follows a transitive verb. Thus, a verb that takes a direct object is known as a transitive verb. Few verbs which do not take a DO are intransitive verbs. Let us observe the position of IO and DO in case of Maithili:

- (13) *ham mohan keN rupaiyaa dait chiyanhi*  
 I Mohan-IO to money-DO give-Pres Aux  
 'I give money to Mohan.'

- (14) *o kitaab nehaa -k chiyanhi*  
 That book-DO Neha-IO-Poss Aux  
 'That is Neha's book.'

In the above examples, we find that in Maithili, IO may precede or follow DO.

### D. Position of Adjective

The occurrence of adjective is quite common among the languages of the world. In case of SALs (comprising the Indian languages), an adjective may precede or follow the head noun. In some of the Indian languages, both the possibilities are quite common. In Maithili, we can observe an adjective generally present before the head noun. For example,

- (15) *niik lok*  
 nice-ADJ person/people-HD (N)  
 'Nice person/people.'

- (16) *piiyar kaparaa*  
 Yellow-ADJ clothes-HD (N)

‘Yellow clothes.’

Besides, we find a unique feature in Maithili as regards adjectives. We can observe adjectives in Maithili which I would like to call ‘colour adjectives’ (CLR-ADJ). Maithili has a rare chunk of colour adjectives which are used only when the colours are used as a head noun and not as an adjective in a sentence. For example,

- (17) *laal* *bund/ tuh-tuh*  
red-CLR ADJ  
‘as red as blood’(literally)
- (18) *pīiyar* *dhaabus*  
yellow-CLR ADJ  
‘as yellow as orange’
- (19) *hariyar* *kaNc*  
green-CLR ADJ  
‘as green as grass’
- (20) *kaarii khat-khat*  
black-CLR ADJ  
‘as black as coal’
- (21) *ujjar* *dap-dap*  
white-CLR ADJ  
‘as white as milk’

In the above examples, we can notice that the adjectives like *bund*, *dhaabus*, *kaNc*, etc. have been used only for the colour terms. In my studies so far, I have not yet come across the particular words to represent these ‘colour-adjectives’. Another important feature of these colour adjectives are that these also exist as the reduplicative compounds, for example, we have reduplicative compounds like *khat-khat* and *tuh-tuh* in Maithili. I have not yet found such feature in other languages so far. Thus, these colour adjectives can be one of the fascinating study for further research in Maithili.

### E. Negation

So far as Maithili is concerned, we find the negative particle pre-verbally as well as post-verbally. For example,

- (22) O *hamaraa* *kichu* *nai* *kahalanhi*  
He me-DAT anything not-Neg say-Pres  
‘He did not say me anything.’
- (23) *naiN* *jaani* *o* *kata* *vyast* *chathi*  
(do)not know he where busy Aux  
‘Do not know where he is busy.’

Sometimes, we may find this negative particle existing at the very initial position in a sentence, generally, to make the sentence either interrogative or assertive in Maithili. Consider, for example,



- (24) *naiN* *jaayab?*  
Not go-FUT  
'Won't go?'

- (25) *naiN* *jaani*  
(do) not know-PRES  
'I do not know.'

Besides, negative particles may often be moved within the sentence to lay emphasis in Maithili (as shown above).

### F. Interrogation

Position of Question word

In most of the Indian languages, question words occur at the position which is actually questioned. There is no obligatory movement of the question word. Though question words are moved or scrambled within the sentence in most of the Indian languages, yet some Tibeto-Burman languages do not allow such scrambling. Question word questioning various constituents in a sentence can occur in a row.

Telugu (DR)

- (26) *ewaru* *eppuDu* *enduku* *elaagu* *eedi*  
who when why how what  
*ewan-ki* *istaaD-* *oo* *naaku* *teliyadu*  
whom will give DUB Mkr to me not known  
'I do not know who will give when, why, how, what, to whom'  
(Literal translation)

Similarly, in Maithili (IA), we have:

- (27) *hamaraa* *naiN* *pataa ke* *kakhain* *kakaraa*  
I do not know who when to whom  
*ki kiye detaik*  
what why will give

Position of Yes/No Question Markers

In case of yes/no questions, we find that these markers occur pre-verbally in some Indo-Aryan languages and post-verbally in other South-Asian languages.

Hindi-Urdu (IA)

- (28) *kyaa* *aap* *jaa* *sakeNge*  
yes/no Ques Mkr you go can  
'Can you go?'

Ho (Mundari)

- (29) *am* *an* *concoRe-* *m* *manating-*  
you me intelligent 2Sg Sub Mkr consider  
*taDi-* *n-* *a-* *ci*



Pres 1sg Obj Mkr DECL MKR Yes/NoQues Mkr

‘Do you consider me intelligent?’

Here, it is to be noted that the yes/no question marker does not carry any agreement in Ho. In Maithili, the yes/no question marker may take the initial as well as final position within the sentence. For example,

Maithili (IA)

- (30) *ahaaN aabi rahal chi neN*  
You come PROG AUX Yes/No Ques Mkr  
‘Are you coming?’ (Literally, ‘You are coming, aren’t you?’)
- (31) *ki o autaaH*  
Yes/No Ques Mkr he will come  
‘Will he come or not?’

### G. Pronoun Deletion

There are some languages in India which have a rich subject-verb agreement or we can say these languages have a morphologically uniform inflectional paradigm (Jaeggli and Safir 1989). These languages permit the deletion of pronouns i.e. pro-drop, though optionally, in a sentence. These languages mostly include the Indo-Aryan as well as the Dravidian languages (except Malayalam) and exhibit a rich agreement system and pronouns functioning as Hindi-Urdu (IA)

- (32) *rohit ne kahaa thaa Δkal jaauNgaa*  
Rohit ERG said had I tomorrow go-FUT  
‘Rohit had said that he would go the next day.’

[The absence of the pronominal is indicated by Δ]

Even in case of Maithili, being an Indo-Aryan language, we find the occurrence of pro-drop phenomenon quite frequently. For example,

- (33) *rohit kahaneN chalaajje Δkaalhi*  
Rohit said had that I tomorrow  
*aayab*  
come-FUT  
‘Rohit had said that he would come the next day.’

Maithili almost follows the other Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi-Urdu, Punjabi, etc. in this regard. It is generally observed that the constituents like subject, object, indirect object, and oblique objects are freely dropped in most of the Indo-Aryan languages.

### H. Comparatives

Like English, most of the SALs use a post position which is comparable to *than* of English to mark the standard of comparison. The constructions may either be comparative or superlative one. Most of the Indian languages do not possess any bound comparative or superlative morphemes that may be compared with the *-er* and *-est* of English. In these languages, the marker of comparison follows the standard of comparison. For example,

Hindi-Urdu (IA)

- (34) *raam shyaam se chotaa hE*  
Ram Shyam than-COMPR small Aux

‘Ram is smaller than Shyam.’

- (35) *sohan sab se lambaa hE*  
Sohan all than-COMPR long Aux

‘Sohan is the longest of all.’

There are some Tibeto-Burman languages like Angami, Hmar, and Sema which do have a bound marker for comparison, for example, in Hmar, *saang* is ‘tall’ and *saang-tak* is ‘tallest’.

Hmar (TB)

- (36) *hi naupangtepa hi kha naupangtepa kha*  
this small boy this that small boy that  
*nekin a- saang- lem*  
than 3Sg tall -er

‘This small boy is taller than that small boy.’

- (37) *lalaa (cu) an- pool- a a- in- saang-*  
Lala def their class in 3Sg VR tall  
*tak*  
-est

‘Lala is the tallest in their class.’ (Subbarao, field notes)

In Maithili, we have a comparative marker *sN* equivalent to *than* of English which functions quite similar to other IALs like Hindi-Urdu.

- (38) *raam shyaam sN lambaa chaik*  
Ram Shyam than-COMPR tall Aux

‘Ram is taller than Shyam.’

- (39) *raam sab sN lambaa chaik*  
Ram all than-COMPR long Aux

### I. Position of Genitive

The languages which have post-positions, the genitive generally precedes the head noun. This fact has also been predicted by the implicational universal for verb-final languages. For example,

Manipuri (TB)

- (40) *pritam gi laink*  
Pritam of-GEN book  
‘Pritam’s book’

Hindi (IA)

- (41) *pritam ki kitaab*  
Pritam of-GEN book

‘Pritam’s book’

So far as Maithili is concerned, we find a marker ‘*k*’ which is equivalent to ‘*ki*’ of Hindi. This ‘*k*’ of Maithili generally exists as a bound morpheme. Sometimes, it is also expressed as a free morpheme but then, the form of this ‘*k*’ changes to ‘*keN*’ or ‘*ker*’, for example,

(42)      *pritama*      -*k*      *pothii*  
Pritam      of-GEN      book

‘Pritam’s book’

(43)      *pritam*      *keN/ker*      *pothii*  
Pritam      of-GEN      book

‘Pritam’s book’

Thus, we find that there are, in fact, two types of genitive markers in Maithili where one is a bound morpheme and the other is a free morpheme.

### **J. Complementizer**

The complementizers are basically sentential linkers which function as the connector between the two clauses or sentences. Besides, some of these complementizers perform several other functions in a language. These may function as a quotative (as in Dravidian languages), or may help to express the sequential actions, or name labelling. It is consistent with the implicational universal of SOV word order. We can find complementizers in almost all the Dravidian languages and in some Indo-Aryan languages like Nepali, Assamese, and Sinhalese. In most of the Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi-Urdu, Panjabi, and Kashmiri, the complementizer occurs to the left of the embedded clause like in French and English. While in some other Indo-Aryan languages like such as Bengali, Oriya, Marathi, and Konkani, and in Manipuri (TB), according to Subbarao (Subbarao, 1993, field notes), there are two complementizers: a particle comparable to *that* of English and *ki* of Hindi, which precedes the embedded clause and a quotative, a form of the verb ‘to say, that follows the embedded clause. Among these two types of complementizers, the quotative is consistent with the SOV word order while the complementizer comparable to *ki* of Hindi is not. All TBLs (except Manipuri) have only a post- sentential complementizer consistent with a SOV word order.

In case of Maithili, too, we observe almost only the pre-clausal complementizer like other Indo-Aryan languages. We do not find any postclausal complementizer in Maithili. For example,

(44)      *o*      *hamaraa*      *kahaneN*      *chala*      *je*  
he      (to) me      said      had      COMP  
*ham*      *otay*      *naiN*      *jaa*      *sakab]*  
i      there      not      go      can

‘He had told me that he cannot go there.’

The only difference is that we use the complementizer *je* in Maithili instead of *kii* of Hindi.

### **K. Sequence of Tense Phenomenon**

#### **The Typological Characteristics of Maithili**

**BY**

Amit Kumar Chandrana

In case of the SALS, we do not observe the principle of tense harmony which is a distinctive feature of many Indo-European languages like English, French, etc. Tense harmony basically talks about the agreement between the verb of the matrix clause and that of the embedded clause. In almost all the SALS, the matrix verb and the embedded verb are free to exist independently.

Hindi-Urdu (IA)

- (45) *ramesh ne kahaa thaa ki main*  
Ramesh-ERG said had COMP I  
*kal aaungaa*  
tomorrow will come

‘Ramesh had said that he would come the next day.’

Here, we can observe that the matrix verb carries the past tense marker while the embedded clause carries the future tense marker, yet the sentence is grammatical. The language like English strictly observes this phenomenon. For example,

English (IE)

- (46) a. \**Ramesh had told me that I will come tomorrow.*  
b. *Ramesh had told me that he would come the next day.*

Unlike in English and many other languages, the pronominal forms of the subject of matrix and embedded clause do not have to be identical in shape in indirect speech in SALS. This is due to the fact that the speaker is quoting verbatim. Hence, the post-sentential complementizer is labelled as a quotative (Emneau, 1956; Kachru, 1979; Kuper, 1967; Subbarao, 1989). However, significantly in Hindi-Urdu, Kashmiri, Bengali, Oriya, and Marathi, the same phenomenon of Tense mismatch and retention of the pronominal forms of the direct speech are found, though the complementizer occurs in a pre-clausal position.

As far as Maithili is concerned, we find both the forms being acceptable there. In other words, sometimes the matrix verb agrees with the embedded verb while at other times, it does not. Thus, the structure based on both the aspects i.e. either in case of Hindi or English is followed quite frequently. For example,

Maithili (IA)

- (47) *o kahalani je ham aayab*  
he said that i will come  
‘He said that he would come.’
- (48) *o kahalani je o autaaah*  
he said that he will come  
‘He said that he would come.’

In Maithili, none of the above two forms are questioned for the sake of grammaticality. Both the forms are frequently used by the speakers.

## L. Relative Clause Construction

Relativization is a process in which there is a noun phrase in the main clause and there is a corresponding relative pronoun identical with the head noun that occurs in the subordinate clause. Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages have two types of relative clauses: full clause and participial clause. They have a specific construction that is labelled as ‘relative-correlative’ construction in which the relative pronoun in the subordinate clause functions like a modifier as in (73) below.

In Indo-Aryan languages, the embedded relative clause may either precede the head noun (postnominal-1) or occur to the right of the verb of the matrix clause (postnominal-2). The head noun is underlined:

Hindi-Urdu (IA)

Prenominal:

- (49) jo laRkaa wahaN khaRaa hai vah  
 which boy there standing is he  
 meraa bhaai hai  
 my brother is

‘The boy who is standing there is my brother.’

Hindi-Urdu (IA)

Postnominal-1:

- (50) vah laRkaa jo wahaN khaRaa hai  
 that boy who there standing is  
 meraa bhaai hai  
 my brother is

‘The boy who is standing there is my brother.’

Hindi-Urdu (IA)

Postnominal-2:

- (51) vah laRkaa meraa bhaai hai jo  
 that boy my brother is who  
 wahaN khaRaa hai  
 there standing is

‘The boy who is standing there is my brother.’

Similarly, in Maithili, we find all types of constructions that we have just observed in Hindi.

For example,

Maithili (IA)

Prenominal:

- (52) je chauRaa otay thaarh achi  
 that boy (NH) there standing is(NH)  
 o hamar bhaai chi(k)  
 he my brother is(NH)

‘The boy who is standing there is my brother.’

Maithili (IA)

Postnominal-1:

(53) *o* *chauRaa* *je* *otay* *thaarh* *achi*  
 that boy who there standing is  
*hamar bhaai chi(k)*  
 my brother is  
 'The boy who is standing there is my brother.'

Maithili (IA)

Postnominal-2:

(54) *o* *chauRaa* *hamar* *bhaai* *chi(k)* *je*  
 that boy my brother is who  
*otay thaarh aich*  
 there standing is  
 'The boy who is standing there is my brother.'

The relative pronoun and the question word have different forms in Indo-Aryan languages and these are never homophonous as in case of Dravidian languages.

Hindi-Urdu (IA):

(55)

Relative Pronoun	Question Word
jo 'who'	kaun 'who'
jisko/jise 'whom' (ACCU-DAT)	kis ko/ kise 'whom' (ACC-DAT)
jahaN 'where'	kahaN 'where'
jab 'when'	kab 'when'
jis tarah 'which way'	kis tarah 'how'

Maithili (IA):

(56)

Relative Pronoun	Question Word
je 'who'	ke 'who'
jinakaa/jekaraa 'whom' (ACC-DAT)	kekaraa/kiNkaa 'whom'
jetay 'where'	katay 'where'
jakhani 'where'	kakhani 'when'
jena 'which way'	kena 'how'

Here, in both the cases (that of Hindi & Maithili), it is to be noted that the relative pronoun starts with the consonant *j*- (as in *jo*, *jis*, *jab*, etc. of Hindi and *je*, *jinakaa*, *jetay*, etc. in

Maithili) and the question word always starts with *k-* in almost all the Indo-Aryan languages. In contrast, in Dravidian languages, the question word and the relative pronoun are homophonous.

Telugu (DR):

(57)

Relative Pronoun	Question Word
ewaru 'who'	ewaru 'who'
ewari-ki 'whom' (DAT)	ewari-ki 'whom' (DAT)
ewari-ni 'whom' (ACC)	ewari-ni 'whom' (ACC)
ekkaDa 'where'	ekkaDa 'where'
eppuDu 'when'	eppuDu 'who'
elaagu 'which way'	elaagu 'which way'

The relative clause occurs only to the left of the head noun in Dravidian languages just as in other verb-final languages such as Japanese and Korean in contrast to Indo-Aryan languages where it may precede and follow the head noun. The frequency of occurrence of relative clauses in Dravidian is very low.

#### M. Dative Subject Construction

According to Subbarao, 2003, with psychological predicates or when the logical subject is a possessor, the subject (possessor or experience) carries dative or genitive or locative postposition. The verb in such cases agrees with the possessed noun phrase (theme or patient) [kachru 1970; Sridhar 1979; Verma and Mohanan 1991; Bhaskara Rao and Subbarao]. All Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages have this construction while it does not occur in most of the Tibeto-Burman and Austro-Asiatic languages.

Hindi-Urdu (IA)

- (58) *raadhaa ko kavita aur kahaanii*  
 Radha DAT poetry and story  
*donoN pasand haiN*  
 both pleasing are  
 'Radha likes both poetry and stories.'

- (59) *raadhaa ko bukhaar aur khaaNsii thiiN*  
 Radha-FEM DAT fever and cough was  
 'Radha has fever and cough.'

Here, it is to be noted that though the subject (90) and (91) is in the third person, singular and the verb exhibits plural agreement as the possessed noun phrase is in plural. A similar phenomenon is observed in Telugu.

Telugu (DR)



- (60) *maa- diggara Dabbu leedu*  
We-PL near money-SG not-SG  
'We do not have any money.'

Maithili, again here, follows the pattern of Hindi. The little difference that we observe between the two languages (i.e. Maithili and Hindi) is that Maithili has *ke/N*-marker instead of *ko*-marker of Hindi. For example,

Maithili (IA)

- (61) *raam ke/N/r jwar/jar chanhi*  
Ram DAT fever has  
'Ram has fever.'
- (62) *raajuu ke kavita aa kahaanii dunu*  
Raju DAT poetry and story both  
*niik lagait chanhi*  
pleasing feel are  
'Raju likes both poetry and story.'

#### N. Conjunctive Participial Construction

The conjunctive participial construction is a type of non-finite construction found in almost all the South-Asian languages. This type of construction involves only one finite form of the verb present in the matrix clause and the embedded clause, may be one or more, always with the participial form of the verb known as non-finite verbs. This sort of construction is quite prominent in most of the Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi-Urdu, Punjabi, and Kashmiri (Kachru, 1981). In other Indo-Aryan (like Bengali, Oriya, and Assamese) as well as Dravidian languages, this construction has a finite ending i.e. a past tense marker (Massica 1976, Lalitha Murthy 1994). Besides, the conjunctive participle may function as:

- Imparting the meaning of a coordinating conjunction.
- Sequential action
- A concessive interpretation if used with an inclusive particle and a negative.
- The interpretation of an alternative action in the sense of 'instead of' (Kachru, 1981).

Maithili also has the conjunctive participial construction where the non-finite form of the verb takes *ke/keN*-marker with the polar verb instead of *kar*-marker of Hindi. For example,

- (63) *raamuu iskool sN aabi ke/keN kaparaa*  
Ramu school from come havin-en clothes  
*badali ke/keN khaa ke/keN suuti*  
change having-en food eat having-en sleep  
*rahalaah*  
got  
'Ramu returned from school, changed his clothes, had his lunch, and slept.'

Being a native speaker of Maithili, I have also observed that in Maithili, the vector part of the non-finite verb i.e. *ke/keN* is not necessarily found or sometimes dropped, though optionally,

in all the CP-constructions in Maithili. Such constructions are frequently seen in Maithili. For example,

(64)	<i>mukesh</i>	<i>ghar</i>	<i>aabi,</i>	<i>bhojan</i>	<i>kaya,</i>
	Mukesh	home	come	food	eat
	<i>taiyaar</i>	<i>vay,</i>	<i>baahar gelaah</i>		
	ready	get	outside went		

‘Mukesh returned his home, had his lunch, got ready, and went out.’

#### O. Anaphora

The term anaphora basically accounts for ‘back reference’ i.e. it represents the items referring back to their antecedents in a sentence. There are two types of anaphors- reflexives (myself, yourself, themselves, etc.) and reciprocals (each other, one another, etc.). According to Subbarao, all Dravidian languages, except Malayalam, and a few Indo-Aryan languages, such as Marathi, Sinhalese, Gujarati, and some Tibeto-Burman languages also have a verbal device to express reflexivity and reciprocity. The verbal reflexive and reciprocal may or may not be homophonous. The verbal device also functions:

- (a) As an inchoative (intransitive marker that detransitivizes a verb).
- (b) As a self benefactive.
- (c) In the formation of specific lexical items (Lust et al, 2000).

In case of Munda languages, such as Ho, Mundari, Sora (Savara), and Santhali have only a verbal anaphor and no nominal anaphor in these languages.

In Maithili, we do not form the complex form of DO and IO like that of Hindi-Urdu. Here, we have only the simple form of DO and IO.

Simple form of DO

(65)	<i>raadhaa</i>	<i>apnaa-ke</i>	<i>doshii maanait</i>	<i>chathi</i>	
	Radha	self-ACC	guilty	consider	Aux

‘Radha considers/finds herself guilty.’

Simple form of IO

(66)	<i>raadhaa</i>	<i>apnaa-ke</i>	<i>bheNt</i>	<i>delani</i>	
	Radha	self-DAT	gift	gave	

‘Radha gave a gift to herself.’

#### P. Reduplication and Echo-Word Formation

Reduplication and echo-formation are the two important features found not only in all the Indian languages but also in most of the languages of the world. Maithili, too, exhibits both complete and partial reduplication. Besides, this language also goes for echo-formation at a large scale. Let’s observe them in a series on the basis of the available data.

**I. Complete Reduplication:** There are many reduplicative compounds in Maithili showing complete reduplication. For the present, I have tried to classify the compounds on the basis of the grammatical category that each of them belongs to.

(a) **Nouns:** We have a long list of the reduplicative compounds function as nouns in Maithili. Let us observe some of these compounds which are commonly used in Maithili.

(i) *kal-kal* 'great hunger'

(ii) *kuc-kuc* 'itching'

(b) **Adjectives:** In Maithili, we can find a large number of of reduplicative compounds functioning as adjectives. These reduplicative compounds are used by the speakers in their day-to-day speech. Some of these adjectives are listed below.

(i) *dap-dap* 'white'

(ii) *kan-kan* 'excessive cold'

(c) **Verbs:** We find a large number of reduplicative compounds in Maithili functioning as verbs. Some of them are as follows:

(i) *bak-bak* 'to speak continuously'

(ii) *bag-bag* 'sth present in a large amount'

(d) **Adverbs:** Many reduplicative compounds play a major role in the formation of reduplicated adverbs in Maithili. Some of them are listed below.

(i) *kaR-kaR* 'hard'

(ii) *gaj-gaj* 'in an excessive amount'

**II. Partial Reduplication:** Like many other Indian languages, Maithili also exhibits a fairly rich amount of partially reduplicated compounds. These compounds follow particular phonological rules. I have tried to discuss some of the rules in the last section of this topic. For the present, I have also divided these compounds into different grammatical categories.

(a) **Nouns:** A good number of partially reduplicated compounds also function as nouns in Maithili. Generally, we find a consonantal sound change at the initial position of the reduplicated word.

(i) *jhal-phal* 'not visible clearly'

(ii) *taNt-ghaNt* 'to pretend to do sth very important (that's not)'

(iii) *dhan-man* 'to fall suddenly'

(iv) *baaRii-jhaaRii* 'garden'

(b) **Adjectives:** There are certain adjectives, too, that appear as reduplicated compounds in Maithili. As far as my personal observation is concerned, these compounds also follow the same phonological rules as the nouns do. We can observe the same in a few examples given below.

(i) *tun-mun* 'small in size'

(ii) *daho-baho* 'with flow'

- (iii) *luk-jhuk* 'evening-like'  
 (iv) *hal-bal* 'highly excited'
- (c) **Adverbs:** Though not many but a few reduplicated compounds also function as adverbs, following the same rule as described in case of nouns and adjectives. Let us observe some of them.
- (i) *cat-pat* 'related to sound'  
 (ii) *ghod-mod* 'in bunch'  
 (iii) *chitaR-bitari* 'here and there'  
 (iv) *dhaR-phaR* 'in a hurry'

### III. Expressives in Maithili

Like many other Indian languages, expressive in Maithili are used to emote all the five senses of perception, i.e. of smell, sight, touch, hearing, and taste. A few examples cited below are to indicate the range and depth of perceptive power in case of Maithili speakers through their language.

#### (a) Acoustic Noises:

##### (i) Animal Noises:

- keN-keN* 'barking of a dog'  
*miyaauN-miyaauN* 'mewing of a cat'  
*khii-khii* 'chattering of a monkey'

##### (ii) Noises of the Nature:

- taR-taR* 'pattering of rain'  
*gaR-gaR* 'thundering sound'

##### (iii) Noises made by humans:

- khii-khii* 'laughing sound'  
*baR-baR* 'to speak loudly'

##### (iv) Noises by miscellaneous objects:

- khan-khan* 'jingling of coins'  
*bin-bin* 'to loiter here and there'  
*tap-tap* 'to speak without permission'

(b) **Sense of touch:** Some of the expressive indicating 'feel' or 'touch' overlap with those indicating sounds. Perhaps they reflect that touching of objects also produce certain sounds. Thus, *cun-cun* (a reduplicative compound of Maithili) can also be placed under this category as it produces a comparable feel when felt over the skin.

- (i) *cat-cat/las-las* 'sticky'  
 (ii) *rib-rib* 'to feel pain in mouth'  
 (iii) *pac-pac* 'drawn in oil like'  
 (iv) *kan-kan* 'excessive cold'  
 (v) *kal-kal* 'feeling of great hunger'

(c) **Sense of sight:** These usually refer to the flickering or glimmering or shimmering aspects of an object.

- |       |                  |               |
|-------|------------------|---------------|
| (i)   | <i>cak-cak</i>   | ‘shining’     |
| (ii)  | <i>lak-lak</i>   | ‘very thin’   |
| (iii) | <i>tan-tan</i>   | ‘quite fit’   |
| (iv)  | <i>jhal-jhal</i> | ‘transparent’ |

(d) **Sense of smell:** Like many other Indian languages, Maithili also uses expressive for good and bad smells.

- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| (i) | <i>i itra ta bad gam-gam karait achi</i> |
|     | this perfume very good smell do is       |
|     | ‘This perfume smells so sweet.’          |

(e) **Sense of taste:** Reduplicative compounds of Maithili also exhibit the sense of taste quite extensively.

- |       |                    |               |
|-------|--------------------|---------------|
| (i)   | <i>kuR-kuR</i>     | ‘hard’        |
| (ii)  | <i>kacaR-pacaR</i> | ‘rubbish’     |
| (iii) | <i>aNt-baNt</i>    | ‘meaningless’ |
| (iv)  | <i>khal-bal</i>    | ‘commotion’   |

Thus, to sum up, we find that the study of reduplication in Maithili becomes quite an extensive field and require further research for a detailed study.

### Important Abbreviations:

ADJ	Adjective	DO	Direct Object
Aux	Auxiliary	IO	Indirect Object
COMPR	Comparative	Poss	Possessive
COLR	Colour	Pres	Present
Dat	Dative	PROG	Progressive

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